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The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe

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WIDE FROM THREE LIONS

Japanese militarism must be crushed if peace in the Pacific is to be established on a permanent basis

Japan—Problem in War and Peace

IT is as necessary for one to understand his enemies as it is for him to know his friends. This is true of a nation as well as an individual. We Americans need to know Japan, to understand her strength and weaknesses, her form of government and way of life. This knowledge will help us to win the war and to deal most effectively with her after the fighting ceases.

How well do we know our enemies in the Pacific? The editors of *Fortune* magazine undertook recently to find out. They conducted a poll of opinion, asking thousands of people questions about Japan.

First, the people were asked whether the population of Japan was near 50 million, 75 million, 90 million, 110 million, or 125 million. Only about one-seventh of those who were questioned gave the right answer—75 million (the population is about 73 million). Approximately one-third of the people put the figure at 90 million or more, and about another third would not even venture a guess.

Americans, it seems, are equally ignorant regarding the education of their Far Eastern enemy. Practically all Japanese can read and write—probably 99 per cent of them. Yet, according to the *Fortune* poll, half of the American people think that not more than 50 per cent of the Japanese are literate. Only about one-seventh of the people polled knew that nearly all Japanese can read and write.

If we know so little about the population and the education of the Japanese, it is fair to assume that we as a people are equally ill informed on other important facts regarding the nation with which we are engaged in mortal combat, and with which we must deal during the years to come. We shall need all the knowledge and wisdom we can obtain when the time comes to impose terms of peace upon Japan.

Largely as a result of our ignorance of Japan and things Japanese, we were unprepared for the blow which fell upon us in December 1941. We had gone on the easy assumption that because Japan lacked so many of the raw materials vital to the waging of modern warfare, she would never attack us. We failed to take into account that for years she had been building stockpiles of war materials which she could later use. We failed to remember that her whole economy had been geared to war, that all but the most essential of civilian products had been eliminated in order that the instruments of war might be produced.

We also assumed that if Japan should be foolhardy enough to declare war upon us, we could easily defeat her. Many of our military leaders shared this illusion.

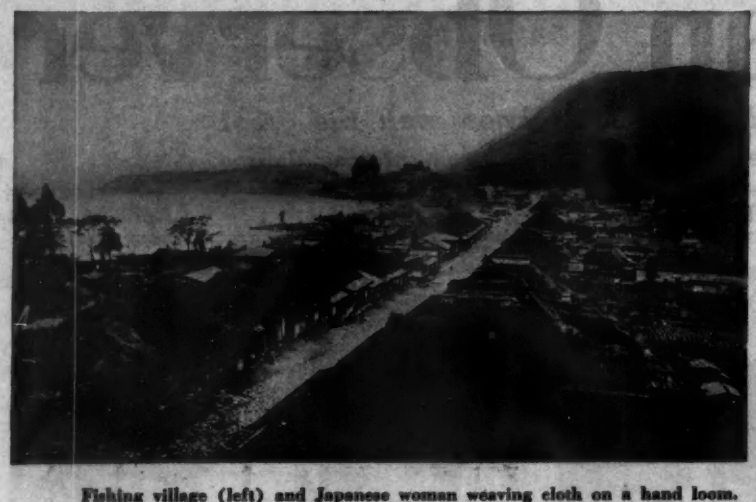
Today we are more realistic in our appraisal of Japan and her strength, for nearly two and a half years of war have taught us a bitter lesson. As we struggled desperately to develop synthetic rubber to replace that which had come from the Netherlands East Indies, we realized that Japan had acquired this vital area. Gradually we came to realize that in southeast Asia, Japan had acquired one of the richest areas in the world. In this region, she acquired access to about 90 per cent of the world's rubber supply and 66 per cent of its tin resources. She acquired access to more oil than she needs, and enough iron ore to meet 60 per cent of her requirements.

Practically all the strategic war materials formerly lacking are to be found in Japan's sprawling empire. We now realize that we are fighting not a foe who is weak economically but one which has become strong through her conquests. Japan has become the second largest empire in the world, containing one-sixth of the earth's land surface and one-fifth of the world's population—450 million.

Though she is a formidable enemy, we are coming to learn some of the weaknesses of Japan and her people. We realized early in the war that if we were to defeat Japan we must strike before she had time to digest the vast empire and its resources over which she had obtained military and political control. In this objective we have succeeded to a marked degree because Japan has been unable to exploit the economic resources of southeast Asia. One of her great weaknesses is a lack of shipping to transport the materials of this region to the factories of the home islands. The growing American naval strength in the Pacific is thus striking Japan where she is most vulnerable.

Japan is confronted with the problem of waging war and exploiting an economic empire at the same time, and she is finding it increasingly difficult to do both. But the American people now realize that the road to Tokyo will be long and hard and that the problem of dealing with a defeated Japan and establishing peace in the Pacific on a permanent basis will be extremely difficult.

Students, by learning as much as they can about Japan and her people, will help to shape wise and successful programs of action for dealing with that nation after the war. To assist readers of this paper in gaining needed information, we are devoting a large part of this week's issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER to Japan and its problems.



PUBLISHERS PHOTOS

Fishing village (left) and Japanese woman weaving cloth on a hand loom. The surplus farm population has provided cheap manpower for Japanese industry

The Land and People of Japan

As the Japanese tell it, before there were men on earth, the Plain of High Heaven was peopled with gods and goddesses. It was in that distant time that the great god Izanagi one day thrust a jeweled spear into the surrounding deeps. As he withdrew it, drops of moisture fell into the sea and formed a chain of beautiful islands —the sacred islands of Japan.

Looking at the Japanese landscape with its mountains and waterfalls, its bright green fields well laid out and carefully cultivated, its picturesque houses and temples, one gets an impression of a dainty and beautiful country. But the true picture of Japan, underneath the thin coating of beauty, is often harsh and ugly.

The real Japan is a land in which the disadvantages far outweigh the charms on the surface. The main Japanese islands have an area somewhat smaller than that of California but must support a growing population of 73,000,000.

Volcanic Islands

The islands were formed by volcanic upheavals in the dim ages of the past and are mountainous, irregular, and lacking in sufficient fertile soil. The struggle for food is a hard one with only a fifth of the land suitable for cultivation.

Japan's industries (see page 6) are limited to small areas and cannot obtain enough raw materials from the resources of Japan proper. The Japanese islands are poor in coal, iron, oil, and similar products necessary to industry. Thus, Japan must look abroad for much of what she needs—which helps to explain her policy of aggression and conquest over many decades.

It is not the whole explanation, however. Even though Japan does not possess in her own soil satisfactory quantities of the resources a nation needs to enjoy prosperity, her people would be better off if they were permitted to enjoy the full benefits of those resources, and if Japan were to pursue a policy of peaceful commerce with other nations. But that is not the Japanese way.

The people of Japan are forced by the powers in control to live according to a rigid pattern. The farmer doesn't have enough land to provide for more than bare subsistence. The industrial worker is paid too little to reap any real benefit from his labor. Only the wealthy and privileged classes are entitled to live above the subsistence level. All else goes to serve the national policy of Japan.

Live Frugally

The Japanese live under a system of rigid frugality. The typical Japanese house is a small, fragile one-story building with no foundation. With few building materials available, their homes are constructed with light wooden frames and no solid walls. Sliding panels of wood or paper close them for the night.

Within, the Japanese home is equally simple. Paper partitions divide the living space into rooms. In cold weather, the house is heated—inadequately according to Western standards—by a small charcoal burner. Floors are covered with straw mats which may be easily taken up and moved. There is little furniture. The Japanese family eats kneeling on the floor before a low table. A mat or quilt serves as a bed, and save for household idols, a picture, or a vase of flowers, this completes the home furnishings.

The typical Japanese diet is also dictated by necessity. Rice, fish, soy beans, tea, and pickled vegetables are the staple foods in Japan. Before the war, the average Japanese ate a pound of rice a day, 100 pounds of fish, and only about four pounds of meat a year. Under wartime restrictions, the Japanese get even less to eat.

So intensely must the land of Japan be cultivated that most of the work is done by hand. There is little pasture land available for animals. Consequently the Japanese farmer must carry heavy loads and do heavy work, which accounts in part for his physical strength. Many of the youths from farms spend only the early years of their lives in the rural areas. When they are old enough to work in factories they go to the cities. Large numbers of country girls work in the textile industries at very low wages. They are housed in factory dormitories and are kept under strict supervision. Most of the boys are conscripted into the Army where they are subjected to a military education. During the last 15 years most of the recruits have come from the farming areas.

Typical Family

The typical Japanese family consists of a father and mother, four children, and grandparents. The children, under the supervision of the mother, are treated with affection. At the same time, however, strictest obedience is expected of them. Women, under their parents' control until they marry, are completely subordinated to their husbands after marriage. Both their education and their social life are limited. Grandmothers are often the final authority in the home, advising the men as well as the younger women of the household.

Public schools are an important factor in the government's exercise of social control. Education is compulsory for all Japanese, with the result that Japan is one of the most highly literate countries in the world. But instead of learning how to think for themselves in school, Japanese students are taught about their country's divine mission in the world and their part in fulfilling it. Strict obedience is demanded.

Since the disciplines of both home and school emphasize the importance of the group rather than that of the individual, the Japanese learn early in life to place loyalty, obedience, and respect for tradition above all other virtues. Placing the group always above the individual, the Japanese considers duty more important than happiness. He respects nothing so much as self-sacrifice, especially when it is in the interest of his nation's or his family's honor. The practice of hari-kiri—a formalized suicide—is one of the best symbols of this attitude.

The rigid disciplines which begin at childhood have made the Japanese well suited to the military disciplines to which they are later subjected. For example, when a Japanese father gives over his young son to the Army, he tells him to obey his military commander as if that man were his father. The son, rigidly brought up to obey without question, is made to transfer his allegiance from the "lower authority" of his parent, to the "higher authority" of a leader who represents the state, and the "highest authority" of all, the Emperor.

Basic Cruelty

The harsh cruelty of the Japanese toward those outside his group is frequently belied by his courteous formality in everyday life. Patterns of graceful formality have been imposed upon almost all the daily activities. The simple act of drinking tea has been made into a ceremony. Greetings and other social exchanges between people reflect an exquisite formal courtesy. Most of these traditions have been handed down from the ruling classes of Japan and those who do not obey them are socially ostracized.

The elaborate and outwardly cordial forms of courtesy which Westerners have so often noticed in Japanese life are sheer traditions without the meaning we normally associate with them in this country. Thus two Japanese who hate each other bitterly will act toward each other just as politely as though they were close friends, while one of them may be planning to turn the other over to the police the next day. Our failure to understand this lack of real meaning in Japanese forms of politeness partly explains why we are so astonished at Japanese brutality in war. Even high government officials have apparently been misled in the past by these outward manifestations of courtesy.

Despite the revolutionary transformations that have come to Japanese economic life during the last century, these changes have altered only superficially the Japanese way of life. Westernized buildings may indeed have been built in the cities, modern machinery installed in the factories, even Western dress may be worn by the Japanese. But most of these Western influences are discarded in the home, where the old customs of dress, social form, and habits of thinking prevail.

JAP. GOV'T EXHIBIT

The Japanese home is fragile and the average family lives a frugal existence

The American Observer

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Japan's Government Is Military Dictatorship

THE governmental system of Japan has an outward form which is in many ways familiar to the Western world—from which that form was borrowed. When the Japanese constitution was written in 1889, it was based on the Prussian (German) model. The Japanese Parliament, with its House of Peers and its House of Representatives, bears comparison with the British Parliament. The cabinet of ministers, headed by a Premier, follows a typical Western pattern. The overall authority of the Emperor may be likened to that of a king.

Even the recent changes made in Japan—the one-party government, the vesting of practical dictatorial power in the hands of the premier, the abandonment of parliamentary procedure—are similar to changes made in Germany and Italy before the war and bear the well-known fascist stamp.

ACME

Premier Tojo

But to view the Japanese system of government as being simply a copy of Western systems is to view it mistakenly. Whatever the forms, whatever the outward appearances, the government of Japan is essentially Japanese, which is to say that it is totally different from anything else in the world. Tojo is not Hitler, nor is the Japanese Parliament a suppressed version of the British Parliament. The Japanese government could have been developed only in Japan. To understand it we must know something about how the Japanese mind works.

"The Imperial Way"

Take the case of Kenji Yamoto, an industrial worker in Tokyo who has had a little better than the average education, and who is fairly well versed in Japanese teachings. To Kenji Yamoto it is impossible to think of anything in this world—or the next—except in terms of "the Imperial Way."

The Imperial Way is the Way of the Gods. The Emperor is the direct descendant of the greatest of deities in Heaven, and as such is a divine person in his own right. He is both the High Priest and the father of his people. He is the Philosopher-King who rules because of his supreme virtue and wisdom. He is the source of all law and all authority.

The Japanese people themselves are held to be descended from lesser gods, and most of them in one way or another believe they are related by blood to the Imperial Family. Those who are most closely related to the Emperor, or who are descended from the most important gods, are by nature entitled to higher positions, and greater authority and wealth, than those whose ancestry is more modest.

As an individual, Kenji Yamoto thus regards himself as one member of a great family headed by the Emperor whom he worships. He believes strongly in the *inequality* of men, accepting his position as one which has been divinely appointed. He is but a tiny branch of the family, the clan, the nation. He has no interests, no rights, that come before the unity and well-being of the community.

Under such a system, government by man is far more important than government by law. To the Japanese, laws, treaties, constitutions, written promises, are all nothing more than temporary expressions of what rulers think or wish to do. They can be changed or brushed aside at any time, for to do otherwise would be to deny the supreme wisdom of the Emperor—who is the source of all authority. It would undermine the unity of the Japanese family.

The Japanese believe so firmly in unity, that they look upon all humanity as an indivisible whole. Just as they believe that individuals are bound together into a family,—so they think the world should be organized into a community of nations. The same inequality which governs the lives of individuals under the Japanese system, however, should govern the lives of nations. The supreme sovereignty should be vested only in the nation best fitted to rule. And only the nation which follows "the Imperial Way"—that is, Japan—deserves to guide the energies, and determine the welfare, of humanity.

These are the beliefs which are firmly rooted in the mind of Kenji Yamoto, and millions upon millions of other Japanese. All work and all suffering is for the glorification of the Imperial Way which cannot fail to dominate the world—if not in this war, then in another one. The greatest glory which can befall the Japanese soldier is to die for the Emperor. Any Japanese, because of his membership in the Imperial Family, is superior to any non-Japanese of whatever race or culture. The actions of the Japanese, and of Japan, are guided by the gods and can never be wrong.

All religion, all philosophy, all law, all politics, all art and culture, are fitted into the system of the Imperial Way. This general philosophy bears the name of Shinto.

In considering the actual workings of the Japanese government it is necessary to bear in mind this fundamental attitude of the Japanese people. This is what they have been taught and made to believe—under pressure if not of their own accord. It is the foundation structure of Japanese political thought.

JAP. GOV'T RAILWAYS

Home of the Japanese Diet, or Parliament, in Tokyo. All branches of the government are now under the control of the military

Let us look briefly now at the practical application of these beliefs. Although deeply rooted in the past, the Imperial Way is a modern development, having been brought forward in 1867, when the Emperor was "restored" to position and power over the great family clans which had dominated Japan for centuries.

"Advising" the Emperor

Although the Emperor is the supreme ruler of Japan, he never acts except upon the advice of statesmen or officials who are able to reach and influence him. The Japanese government, therefore, has altered as power has shifted among those individuals and groups able to "advise" the Emperor. First one strong group, then another has been able to dominate Japan through the device of "advising" the Emperor—who has usually been a weak person.

After the restoration of the Emperor, the Genro, or Elder Statesmen, a group of high-born individuals, became the principal influence in the Japanese government. It was under the guidance and counsel of the Genro that Japan adopted a form of government which outwardly resembled Western models.

During a period following the First World War, Japan approached in practice a system of true representative government. The premier and cabinet gradually succeeded in building up their influence and the elected representatives in Parliament had some voice in government. It was during this period that the great business houses of Japan, notably Mitsui and Mitsubishi (see page 6) had great power in Japan through their ability to control Parliament and the cabinet. These business interests felt that Japan's progress toward her objectives should be peaceful. They wanted to see Japan gain by commerce rather than by war.

Early in the 1930's, however, another group began to assert its powers.

NOTICE TO TEACHERS

At this time of year we are asking all teachers using The American Observer in their classes to let us know the closing dates of their schools for the semester, and also the latest date on which our semester tests should be received. We want the test to cover as many of the issues of the paper as possible, but we do not want to defer the test so long that it cannot be used in schools which close relatively early.

Every year we are informed by certain schools that the tests are sent out too late for use, while other schools, with late closings, are inconvenienced by early tests. If you will let us know your wishes, we can better serve the interests of a maximum number of schools. Address The American Observer, Washington 6, D. C.

This group consisted of certain members of the Army and Navy, who claimed that Japan was departing from "the Imperial Way" and who desired a policy of force and aggression for Japan. These militarists were able to gain control because, under the Japanese system, the Army and Navy are considered the guardians of the Imperial Family—which means all of Japan—and are accountable only to the Emperor. They can act without the authority of other branches of the government.

During this period, military officials frequently acted not only independently of the cabinet and Parliament but also in direct contrast to its announced policies. They could not be subjected to the political control of these groups because of the peculiarly favored position they enjoy under the Japanese system of government. The cabinet is now headed by an Army man, Hideki Tojo, and all departments are under military control. The Emperor rules Japan with the "advice" of the militarists.

WIDE WORLD

BOWING BEFORE THE EMPEROR'S PALACE. Highest authority in the land, the Emperor is used by various groups to control Japan's policy

The Story of the Week

War Fronts

As this paper goes to press Allied progress is strongly evident on every front except Italy, where action remains stalled and the only victory is political—the announcement of the retirement of the King (see note on this page)—and India, where the Japanese invasion continues.

EUROPE. No point on the European continent is safe from attack as the crescendo of invasion preparations mounts higher and higher. During recent days Allied bombers based both in Italy and Britain have ranged far and wide, blasting aircraft plants and other vital targets in Hungary, Austria, Yugoslavia, Rumania (the great oil center of Ploesti was hit again), Germany, and even Poland. The invasion coast rocks daily under record blows as the Allies destroy factories, airfields, and communications in France, Belgium, and Holland.

RUSSIA. Odessa, the great Black Sea port and one of the last major Soviet cities held by the Germans, has been recaptured, and the rapid advance of Russian troops throughout the Crimea brought about a speedy reconquest of that peninsula and its port of Sevastopol.

PACIFIC. Our air forces continue to shower devastating blows on Truk and its outpost islands, Wake, New Guinea, and the Kuriles. We have taken several more of the Marshall atolls, and the Japanese are withdrawing in New Britain for a last-ditch stand at Rabaul.

INDIA. As this is written the Japanese invasion of India is viewed much more seriously than when the enemy first crossed the border. Enemy troops have succeeded in reaching Imphal, an important Allied base and capital of India's Manipur State, and are driving on to the important city of Silchar. Informed observers say that if Silchar falls, the pro-fascist Indian, Subhas Chandra Bose, will set up a government there for "Free India," and call on all Indians to support him and drive out the British. It is freely admitted that such action might stir up much unrest and trouble in nearby Bengal, scene of the recent disastrous famines and long a seat of revolt against the British.

Farther north on the 200-mile Indian front the Japanese have pushed on beyond Kohima and are thrusting through the Naga Hills to threaten the Bengal-Assam railway only 30 miles away. This is the vital lifeline operated by the American Army, which feeds the Ledo Road into Burma. Should the Japanese sever that road they would cut off the American and China forces under General Stilwell which have been pushing vigorously down the Mogaung Valley in northern Burma.

ACME

FOR THE INVASION. Heavy prime movers for artillery (foreground), and amphibious "Alligator" tanks (in the background), ready to be loaded for the trip across the Atlantic

Congress at Work

Congress has now been back at work for almost two weeks since its Easter adjournment. It is dealing with several important issues which it hopes to settle within the next two months, for congressional leaders want to adjourn for the political conventions this summer as well as for a long-awaited vacation.

Chief problems facing the legislature are as follows:

1. Extension of the price-control law, which expires June 30. Another fight over subsidies is expected to develop from this debate.

2. Extension of lend-lease, which also expires June 30.

3. The "GI bill," already passed by the Senate, which provides various financial benefits for World War II veterans.

4. Simplification of the federal income tax law.

5. Provision for the ending of war contracts and reconversion.

6. Several important appropriation bills.

7. The Marcantonio anti-poll-tax bill, already passed by the House. Southern senators have already threatened to filibuster again if necessary to keep this bill from coming to a vote. If cloture is invoked to limit debate and prevent a filibuster, then the southern bloc threatens to propose amendments literally by the hundreds.

N. Y. TIMES

The European theater of operations

Teamwork for Peace

A constructive and encouraging development has taken place in the relations between the executive and legislative departments. Secretary of State Hull has asked the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to set up a subcommittee to consult with the Department of State on problems connected with the establishment of an international peace organization. It is expected that House members also will be consulted on this matter.

The importance of this step is best realized when one remembers that peace-making in the United States is a problem of teamwork between the Senate and the Chief Executive. If they fail to pull together, as they did after the last war, America can have no effective foreign policy and can exert little influence in world affairs.

Draft Muddle

Few civilians of military age last week knew exactly where they stood regarding selective service. Confused by all kinds of contradictory stories in newspapers and by repeated changes in draft procedure, the best they could do was to live day by day and hope that some kind of standard, over-all policy would be permanently adopted and clearly publicized.

The Army has reached its planned peak strength of 7,700,000 officers and men, and says now that it will need between 75,000 and 100,000 men a month for replacements. The Navy is only a few hundred thousand short of its planned strength of 3,600,000 (including the Marine Corps and Coast Guard), and expects to reach that goal this summer. It is expected that 18-year-olds will supply about 60,000 men a month from now on.

These figures make it plain that although demands are actually slackening, some men will still be needed regularly until the war ends. For invasion purposes the forces want only young men under 26, so that the heavy draft from now on will hit the 18-26 age group. In the meantime men from 26 to 30—and especially men with families—are being taken in fewer numbers, and men over 30 are still safer from induction.

Neutrals on the Spot

The time has come when every neutral in Europe has to decide whether it is to be known as a friend or foe of the Allies when the war ends. Secretary of State Hull, in his recent speech, sharply warned the neutrals to quit trading with Germany and her allies. Since then Undersecretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., has been in London conferring with British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden about what is to be done with the neutrals (in addition to a number of other general problems, including consideration of Europe's future frontiers and interpretation of the Atlantic Charter).

In the wake of these diplomatic moves has come specific action. We have demanded of Sweden that she stop sending ball bearings and the raw materials and machines used in making bearings to the Axis. Allied diplomatic representatives have notified the Turkish government of our extreme displeasure because Turkey has increased its shipments of chrome to the Hitler government. We are negotiating with the Spanish government to try to stop exports of tungsten to Germany, and to bring about an end to the espionage of German agents in Spanish North Africa. We will not resume shipments of oil to Spain until an agreement is reached on these matters. And the British have taken direct action in the case of Eire by cutting communications and travel to that country.

CARMACK IN CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Got them at a disadvantage

The problem of Argentina also has come up at the London conference. The United States appears to have reached the point where it is willing to cut off trade with Argentina if Britain will do likewise.

U. S. "Grand Hotel"

Whenever Washingtonians see a foreign flag flying over Blair House, they know that some foreign notable

is in town on an official visit. Located directly across the street from the State Department and only a block from the White House, this impressive four-story mansion has been since late 1942 the "Grand Hotel" of the United States government.

In the last year and a half our government has entertained 20 famous people at Blair House, in addition to many others who stayed at the White House. Blair House guests have included King Peter of Yugoslavia and King George of Greece, two prime ministers and 11 presidents, and five other foreign officials including General Giraud and Foreign Commissar Molotov.

Now 120 years old, Blair House is one of Washington's most historic buildings, and it has been the home of several persons who figured in American history. Among them was Montgomery Blair, who was attorney for Dred Scott in the famous slave case and Postmaster General in Lincoln's cabinet.

ACME

PREPARING OVERSEAS BALLOTS. In Los Angeles, as in many other cities, election officials are preparing ballots for soldiers stationed outside the United States

While the Blair House will continue to accommodate high-ranking foreign officials, lesser lights will be taken care of at the adjoining house, the Blair-Lee House, which the government has recently renovated for this purpose.

Italian Politics

The decision of the Allies last summer to work with an Italian government headed by King Victor Emmanuel and Premier Pietro Badoglio met with only partial approval among conflicting political elements in Italy. It was satisfactory to certain conservative and royalist elements and to part of the Army, but it met the violent opposition of all the leftist parties, ranging from liberals to communists. These groups, loosely united into the "opposition parties," demanded the abdication of the King; some of the liberals were willing to retain the House of Savoy through the King's seven-year-old grandson and a liberal regency, but the more radical groups demanded abolition of the monarchy and establishment of a republic.

The announced decision of King Victor Emmanuel to retire (not abdicate) in favor of his son, Crown Prince Humbert, may bring partial solution to the political deadlock in Italy. This deadlock has been of concern to the Allies, for the leftist groups who denounced the King have remained somewhat critical and aloof from the war effort, and their refusal to cooperate fully has necessarily hindered full prosecution of the war.

In the wake of the King's action, most of the opposition groups have gone on record as favoring a real war cabinet in which they would cooperate, and which would throw its full effort into ridding the country of the enemy. At the same time it should be pointed out that the King's action offers no permanent solution, for Humbert has been tarred with the same fascist brush as his father.

Giraud Out

General Henri Giraud's reported intention to retire from French politics and from his connection with the French Committee of National Liberation may well bring an end to the internal struggle for power which has marred the unity of the Committee and disturbed foreign observers. At the same time it brings to a climax the long fight for leadership of all the Fighting French which General Charles de Gaulle has waged for almost four years.

The immediate occasion for Giraud's decision to retire—assuming the reports to be completely correct—was de Gaulle's action as chairman of the French Committee in dismissing Giraud from his post as commander-in-chief of the French Army. Giraud at first refused either to accept his dismissal or to take over the new and lesser post as Inspector General of the Army which was offered him, and denounced de Gaulle's action as illegal. But it soon became apparent that resistance was hopeless, for in recent months de Gaulle has gained more and more support from Frenchmen in North Africa and France, and his power has steadily increased as that of Giraud has waned.

With Giraud out of the picture it is believed that de Gaulle will devote himself more fully to military affairs, and less to political matters, and he will take over full control of the French Army. In this position he would probably receive more ready acceptance by the Allies than he has so far received as a political leader; he is not only one of the few French generals who were not completely discredited by the fall of France in 1940, but he is one of the few persons anywhere who anticipated the true mechanical nature of the present war. As such he is highly regarded in military circles.

U. S. E.

News from all parts of the world is received in this room, heart of the Foreign News Bureau in the Office of War Information, Washington

Meanwhile the Allies have made it clear that they will not establish Allied military government in France, but leave civil administration to the de Gaulle Committee. The one thing the French Committee has yet to secure is full recognition as the "government" of France.

Partisan Aims

What are the political views of the Partisans? What are their aims for postwar Yugoslavia? These are questions which have bothered many persons, especially in view of the fact that there are a number of Communists among the ranks of the Partisans.

Some light has now been shed on these questions by an official statement by Dr. Josip Smodlaka, Foreign Minister under Tito, the Partisan leader. In an interview with a New York *Times* correspondent, Dr. Smodlaka asserted that the sole aim of the Partisans at present is victory. The Partisans are in no way seeking to impose any specific form of government or political doctrine on the people of Yugoslavia, he said. Moreover, they desire that the people be permitted to make a free choice of their own type of government and their own leaders after the war.

Of particular significance was the statement of the foreign minister that the Tito government desires to bring about a Balkan federation when peace comes. This federation would begin with a union of all the groups of southern Slavs, with equal rights for all groups and religions, and Bulgaria, Albania, and Greece would be asked to join. If such a federation could succeed it might go far toward bringing peace to the turbulent Balkans and to the rest of Europe.

SMILES

Chief: "What would you do to disperse a mob?"

Rookie Cop: "Pass a hat."

* * *

German (in Rotterdam): "Heil Hitler."

Dutch (acknowledging salute): "Heil Rembrandt."

German: "Halt! Vy do you say Rembrandt ven I say Heil Hitler?"

Dutchman: "You mention your best painter, so I am polite and mention ours."

* * *

Trainer: "Here's a cablegram from our man in Africa. He's sending some lions' tails."

Circus Manager: "Lions' tails? Are you crazy?"

Trainer: "Read it for yourself. It says, 'Just caught three lions. Sending details by mail.'"

* * *

Rookie: "Why don't you laugh when the sergeant tells a joke?"

Private: "I don't have to. I'm being transferred tomorrow."

* * *

The soldier didn't like the food served him in the restaurant. The meat was undercooked, the greens waterlogged, and the potatoes lukewarm. Leaving it untouched, he called for his bill, and the waiter was shocked.

"Wasting food like that!" he said. "Don't you know that food will win the war?"

"Maybe," retorted the soldier, "but who's gonna get the enemy to eat here?"

Bride: "Should I stop Dad from giving me my weekly allowance?"

Groom: "Hmmm—no. There's no need of giving up your girlhood ways all at once."

* * *

"Did you mark that place where the fishing was so good?"

"Yes, I put an 'X' on the side of the boat."

"That's silly. What if we should get another boat?"

* * *

Teased about the unusual number of freckles on his face, the quick-witted boy replied:

"Well, we've been goin' swimmin' about every day, and them spots is just my iron constitution rustin' on me."

BOLTINOFF IN AMERICAN MAGAZINE

"I haven't got the nerve to tell him he's substituting for Dorothy Lamour!"

Quiz on Japan

1. Cite examples of our underestimating Japan's strength in the days before Pearl Harbor?

2. With few economic resources, how was Japan able to build a mighty war machine?

3. What are the principal advantages Japan has gained by her conquests in southeast Asia?

4. Why is it difficult for the Japanese people to eke out an existence?

5. What is the secret of Japan's rapid transformation into a great industrial power?

6. What is meant by "the Imperial Way" and how does it influence the political philosophy of the people?

7. What role does the Emperor play in the government of Japan? What is meant by "advising" the Emperor?

8. In what respect do the Army and Navy enjoy a peculiarly favored position in the Japanese system of government?

9. How is Japanese industry controlled? Where are the principal industrial centers?

10. What are the principal advantages of Korea, Formosa, and Manchuria to Japan?

11. Why is foreign trade essential to Japan's economy?

12. What kind of territorial settlement for Japan was agreed upon at the Cairo conference?

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The Bases of Japanese Economy

IT is difficult to realize that less than a century ago Japan was a primitive agricultural country, with no industries and hermetically sealed to the outside world. The Industrial Revolution had had no effects upon Japan. The most remarkable fact in Japan's history is the rapid transformation of her economic life since she was forced to open her doors to trade with the outside world in the middle of the last century. With few of the raw materials essential to an industrial economy she has become one of the world's leading industrial powers.

The secret of Japan's amazing transformation lies in her ability to adopt Western methods of production and combine them with the large reservoir of manpower. Japan's economy, it has been pointed out, is based upon a combination of an Oriental standard of living with an Occidental standard of efficiency.

During the first few decades after Japan was opened to foreign trade, she remained primarily an agricultural nation, with its principal exports consisting of farm products, tea, silk, and rice. As late as 1889, she was still an importer of textiles. The First World War provided a great stimulus to industrial development because Japan was able to step into the world markets from which the Western industrial nations had been obliged to withdraw because of their war needs.

Japan's economic strength was built upon foreign trade. Not only did she have to import the cotton which went into the textiles that flooded the markets of the world, but she also had to buy abroad many of the materials to build her factories and the machinery with which to manufacture the textiles. We were by far Japan's best customer in the prewar days, consuming four-fifths of her exports of raw silk. In turn, Japan was our third best customer, ranking next to the United Kingdom and Canada.

During the twenties and the thirties, Japan continued to increase her exports of cheap textiles, bicycles, shoes, watches, light bulbs, and other products to the peoples of Asia and Africa, to those of Europe and the Americas. Many a British textile town was thrown into deep depression as a result of the Japanese inroads. While Japanese exports of textiles more than doubled between 1928 and 1935, British exports were cut in half. Japanese-made bicycles were sold in Africa and Asia for $5, bicycle tubes for seven cents, typewriters for $12.50. Automobiles were offered for $275. Many an item in the "dime" stores of the world was manufactured in Japan.

It was the combination of efficiency and cheapness which enabled the Japanese to swamp the world markets. Factory workers in Japan earned about four cents an hour in 1938. A considerable part of the work was done by hand artisans. The reservoir of manpower for the Japanese industries came from the farms, where there was a surplus population. For a good many years the farms have been at the saturation point and with a total increase in population of one million a year, farm boys and girls went to the cities to work in factories.

Control of Japanese industry is concentrated in the hands of a few large monopolies, which in turn are dominated by powerful family groups. When Japan went to war with China in 1937, more than two-thirds of all the country's trade and industry were firmly controlled by 15 powerful families. The four greatest of these—Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, and Yasuda—controlled about a third. These wealthy families not only own virtually all the banks and most of the shipping, industry, and trade, but they have had tremendous influence with the government and the police. It is not surprising that Japan has had only a very small labor movement, and that all labor unions were abolished in 1940.

Although industry is controlled by a few wealthy families, it is in great part broken down into small units. In 1930, for example, more than half of the industrial workers were employed in factories with fewer than five workers. There are many "cottage industries," where workers in their own homes make small parts for factory assembly. It was announced recently that needles and thread were being distributed for home manufacture of airplane parts.

Japanese industry is largely concentrated in six great industrial cities along the southern coast of the island of Honshu. Before the war these six industrial centers accounted for one-third of all factory production. These include the Osaka-Kobe-Kyoto metropolitan area, with some six million persons; Nagoya, Japan's newest industrial city with a population of a million and a quarter; and the vast metropolitan area of 11 million people which takes in Tokyo—capital of empire and headquarters of industry, commerce, and finance—and its nearby seaport, Yokohama.

The Japanese government itself owns the railroads, telephone, telegraph, and postal services; and the arsenals; it controls some banks, and has a large interest in some of the newer industrial concerns.

The character of Japanese industry has drastically changed during the last few years. Before extensive preparations for war began, production was concentrated largely upon the "lighter" consumer goods, such as textiles and shoes, which could go into export trade. In the middle thirties, however, there was a rapid shift to the heavy industries. The textile industry provided 37 per cent of Japan's total industrial output in 1931, but only 20 per cent in 1938. During the same period the proportion of the metal industry rose from 8 per cent to about 24 per cent. In 1938, metals, chemicals, machines, and tools accounted for almost two-thirds of all industrial output. Now the concentration upon war production is even greater.

JAP. GOV'T RAILWAYS

UNTIL WAR PREPARATIONS became extensive, Japanese economy was based upon the textile industry and the production of other cheap products for world markets

It is important to remember that in the five years—1936-1940—nearly half of all United States exports of scrap iron and steel went to Japan. By 1939, Japan had so shifted her purchases from this country that fully 70 per cent of her imports consisted of war materials. Her imports of materials nonessential for war had been reduced by more than half. Among our leading exports were petroleum, iron and steel products, copper, automobiles and parts, pig iron, aircraft and parts, and similar products.

Japan's war economy has been powerfully buttressed by exploitation of her earlier conquests. Korea, Formosa, and Manchuria have all been organized to meet Japan's war needs. Korea produces such vital materials as iron ore, pig iron, steel, graphite, tungsten, magnesium, gold, coal, lead, copper, zinc, cement, cotton goods, aluminum, and a long list of chemicals. An indication of Korean industrial activity is seen in the growth of electric power production, which more than doubled between 1933 and 1937 and which is estimated to have tripled since 1937.

Formosa has become a great source of foodstuffs for the crowded Japanese islands. In addition it produces alcohol, fertilizers, mineral oil, aluminum, cement, machinery, wood products, and coal—all important in war.

The development of Manchuria has been even more spectacular. Overrun by the Japanese in 1931, this former Chinese province has been used as a source of both raw materials and industrial products. Coal production increased 40 per cent between 1933 and 1937. Iron ore production more than doubled between 1931 and 1937. Between the years 1937 and 1939, Japan embarked upon an intensified program of industrial development in Manchuria, which has continued since that time. Both mining and industry have reached new peaks of production and Manchuria is today turning out large quantities of materials and products which go into Japan's war machine.

To what extent Japan has been able to exploit the resources of those sections of China which she now occupies is uncertain. Her efforts at exploitation have been seriously handicapped by extensive guerrilla warfare. Her dreams of building up North China as a great economic reservoir have not been fully realized as a result of her lack of undisputed political control of the region.

The veil of secrecy which surrounds activities in southeast Asia and in the islands of the southwest Pacific makes it impossible to determine how extensively Japan has been able to develop the resources of these regions. It is doubtful whether she has had time to develop as extensively as she would like the vast stores of raw materials which lie in the Netherlands East Indies, British Malaya, the Philippines, and other regions which she seized in the months following Pearl Harbor.

Today Japan, with her sprawling empire, is potentially one of the strongest of the industrial powers. Given the time to digest the economic gains she has made from her territorial conquests, she could become a formidable foe. She could convert her wealth of raw materials into planes and ships and guns and other weapons of war. But as our growing military might in the Pacific closes in on Japan, she will be forced to withdraw from her outposts of empire.

WIDE WORLD

Can the liberal force of Japan be counted on to establish a government in Japan? Above are members of a liberal cabinet in the 1930's

What to Do with a Defeated Japan?

In the article which follows, we analyze briefly some of the problems which must be met in dealing with Japan after she is defeated. We do not undertake to give the answers to all the questions which will arise, but we discuss some of the more important facts and arguments upon which decisions may be based.

The Territorial Settlement

A decision on this matter has already been made by the governments of the United States, Great Britain, and China at the Cairo conference held last December. It was agreed that when Japan is defeated, all territories which she has acquired by conquest since 1895 shall be taken from her.

Thus, she must give up the portions of China which she has invaded, and also the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, French Indo-China, Thailand, and Burma. In addition she will lose the territories which she had taken previous to the present war. These include the following:

1. Manchuria, which Japan seized in 1931. This province is as large as Texas, has a population of 40 million, and produces iron, coal, and manganese, materials essential to Japan in maintaining her war machine. Presumably, Manchuria will go back to China.

2. Korea, a country the size of Kansas with a population of 23 million, produces silk, cotton, copper and iron. Japan did not annex Korea until 1910, although her control over that land began with her victory over Russia in 1905. Korea is expected to be given her independence, but she may be put through a trial period of self-government.

3. Formosa was taken from China in 1895. It is some 700 miles south and west of the main Japanese islands. It is about one-tenth the size of Japan proper and has a population of more than five million. It has great strategic importance.

In Japanese hands, Formosa stands as a threat to China. In Chinese hands, it would serve as a barrier against Japanese aggression. Probably it will be given back to China, though the United Nations may maintain air bases and other rights.

4. In 1905, as a result of the war with Russia, Japan took the southern part of the island of Sakhalin which lies north of the main Japanese islands. This island is important for its forests, coal, and fisheries, and as a base for military operations. It will probably be given back to Russia.

5. Such important Pacific island groups as the Carolines, the Marshalls, and the Marianas will be taken from Japan and will be operated by an association of nations, or they may be divided among the United States, Australia, and New Zealand.

By shearing away these conquests, Japan will be reduced to the islands known as Japan proper, a limited territory of 148,000 square miles, with a population of about 73 million. Japan proper will not have the materials to build a great military machine.

Whether or not 73 million Japanese can even eke out an existence on such a small amount of land will depend upon the freedom with which they can carry on commerce with other nations. That is a problem which we shall consider later.

Armament Control

When Japan is defeated, most people agree that she should be totally disarmed, that her armies should be disbanded, and that her munitions factories should be dismantled. But there is disagreement as to whether further provisions should be adopted.

Some think that steel mills and shipyards should be put out of commission, and that Japan's heavy industry should be destroyed, so she will be unable to build up armaments in the future.

Others think that this will not be necessary. They say that if Japan is not permitted to engage in industry, her people cannot possibly be employed, and large numbers will starve. It is argued that the victor nations should be ever on guard to prevent Japan from using her industrial machine for war preparations, but that they should permit her to carry on peaceful industrial enterprise.

Military Occupation

Here is a problem concerning which there is not complete agreement. Some people believe that the Americans, British, and Chinese should keep their armies in Japan a long time after the war to see that the peace terms are obeyed and to make the Japanese realize how completely they are defeated.

Others argue that such a course of action would be unwise and unnecessary; that we would have to maintain a large army there to keep order; that we would run into the same kind of costly and bitter opposition which the German armies of occupation have encountered in Europe.

Reparation

Most students of this problem agree that the Japanese will not be able to pay the Allied countries for the destruction they are causing in the war, since they will be stripped of their outside possessions, and their country will be battered and poor after our fighting forces finish with it. The Japanese, however, have very large investments in China and all the other territories they have taken, and these properties will be seized in payment for the damage which Japan has inflicted upon others.

Form of Government

There are several viewpoints as to the attitude which should be adopted by the United Nations with respect to Japan's postwar government. One is that the Emperor and all the religious fanaticism for which he stands should be overthrown, and that steps should be taken to prevent the military group in Japan from ever again controlling the government.

According to this viewpoint, Japan will remain a threat to world peace so long as the people blindly worship an Emperor who can, in turn, be controlled by military fanatics. We must establish and maintain a democratic government in Japan, it is argued, and also supervise the education of Japanese youth in order to instruct them along the peaceful lines as an antidote to the fanatical military and religious training of the past.

Others believe that it would be a mistake to use force in compelling the Japanese to adopt the kind of a government which we want them to have. Officials of such a government, it is said, would look to the people of that country like "puppets" or "Quislings," and would be extremely unpopular. There would be constant conflict and strife, requiring a large Allied military force to be stationed permanently in Japan to keep order.

We should not try to dominate Japan's government or educational system, continues the argument, but we should try to encourage and strengthen the democratic forces in that country. If these forces gain power, we should do much more to help them than we did the democratic government which came into control in Germany after the last war. Our failure to support that government more effectively, it is said, may have been partly responsible for Hitler's rise to power.

Trade and Commerce

Majority opinion among students of this problem, including Chinese leaders, is that Japan, along with all other nations, should be permitted to engage extensively in foreign trade, buying needed raw materials from the outside and finding markets for her products.

Otherwise, Japan will be desperately poor and a constant source of trouble to the rest of the world. Furthermore, China and other nations will benefit by trading with a fairly prosperious industrial Japan.

It is universally agreed, however, that Japanese industry should be closely watched, and if it should be directed toward the production of armaments all outside trade with Japan should be immediately brought to a halt.

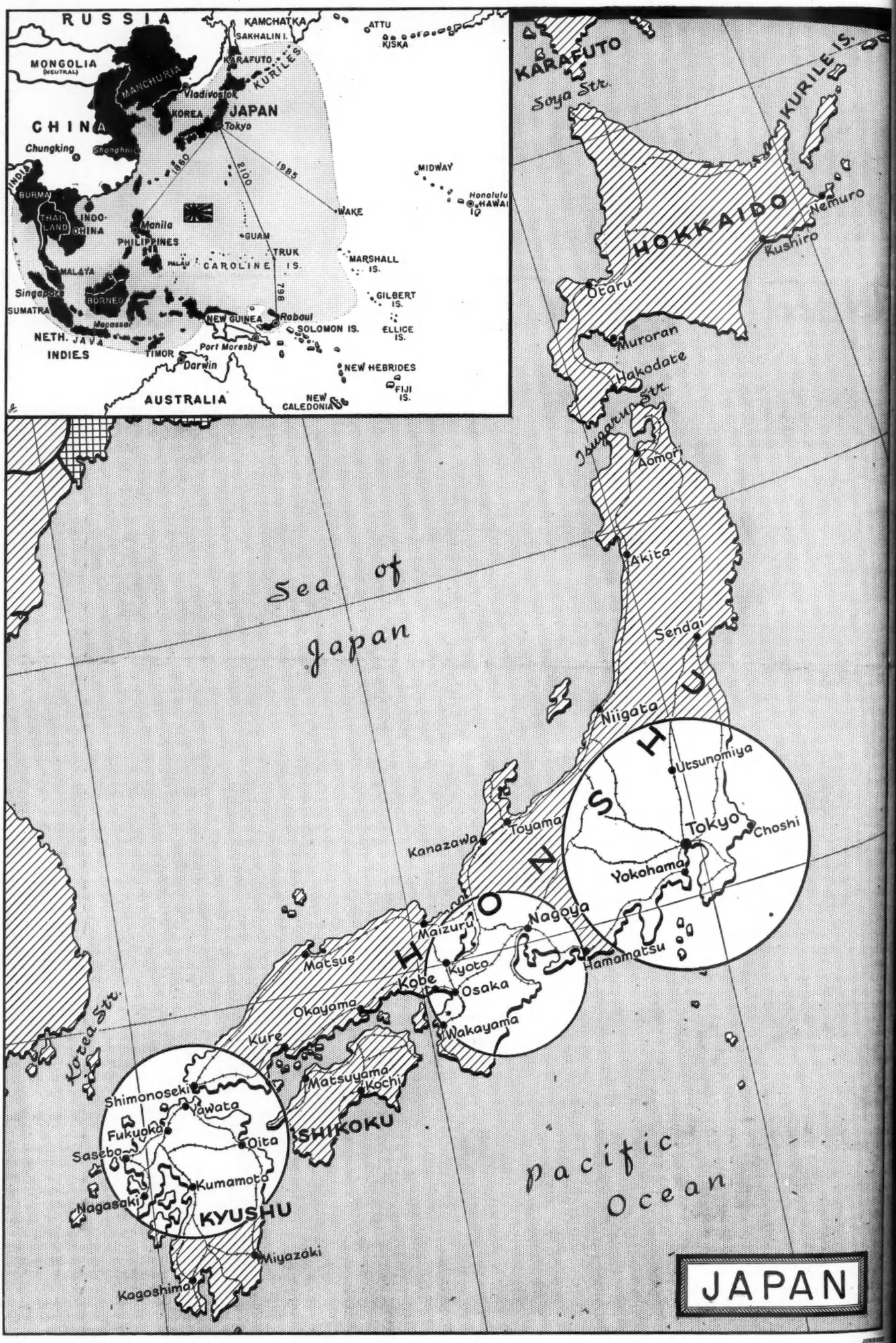
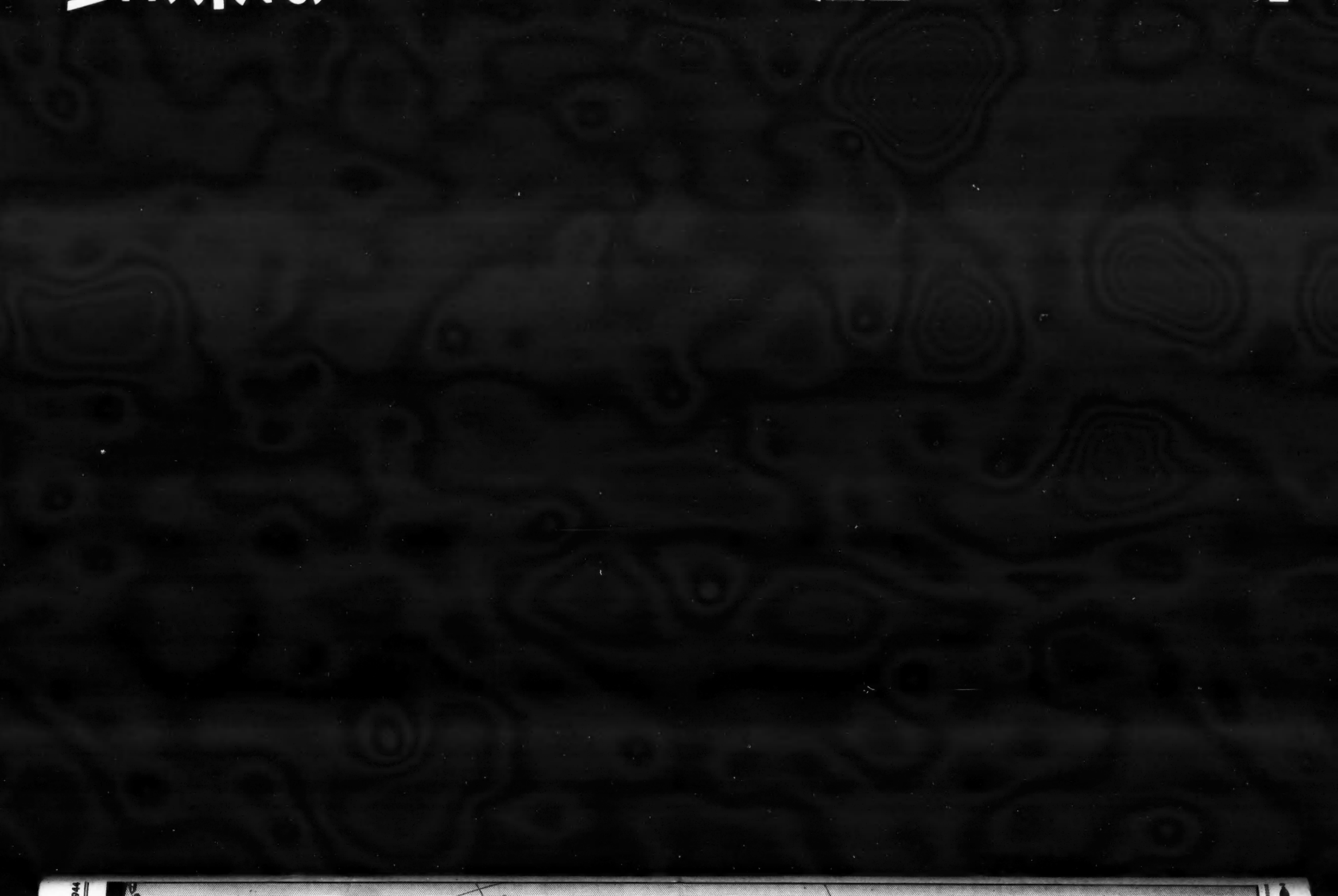
Membership in an Association of Nations

It is generally felt that Germany, Japan, and other Axis nations will after a period of probation, be permitted to join an international organization, if one is established.

In conclusion it should be emphasized that the solution of such problems as have been outlined in this article depends upon continued cooperation of the Allies. If the United States, Great Britain, China, and Russia do not work together after the war, the prospect of maintaining peace, order, and prosperity in the Far East is not bright.

GALLOWAY

How can Japan be given the opportunity to develop economically after the war without becoming a threat to future peace?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